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THE CRY OF TOIL

By RUDYARD KIPLING.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
And you hail us still unfed,
Though there's never a dollar of all your wealth
But marks the worker's dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie on a crimson wool;
For, if blood be the price of all your wealth,
Good God! we ha' paid it in full.

There's never a mine blown skyward now
But we're buried alive for you;
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go reckon our dead by the forges red,
And the factories where we spin;
If blood be the price of your accursed wealth,
Good God! we ha' paid it in full.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
For that was our doom, you know.
From the days when you chained us in your fields
To the strike of a week ago.
You ha' eaten our lives and our babes and wives,
And we're told it's your legal share,
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth,
Good God! we ha' bought it fair.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

YE sons and daughters of the Revolution, the shades of the noble Fathers of the Country call shame upon you.

Where, oh where, are the Paines, the Jeffersons, the Thoreaus, the Phillips's, and Garrisons to raise their voices in thunderous protest against the tyrannous suppression of *to-day?*

Has the reign of plutocracy corrupted the spirit of liberty to such an extent that all manhood has been lost, and no one dare cry out against the brutality of our rulers?

Let us not deceive ourselves: we are marching with quick strides towards autocracy and the blackest reaction.

The fundamental guarantees of all civilized peoples—freedom of speech, press, and assembly—will soon be things of the past, unless the lovers of liberty immediately take a decided stand against the suppression of their natural rights.

The brutal crushing of even the slightest aspiration of the masses is carried on more arbitrarily and irresponsibly in this country than in the most tyrannous land of the Old World. A nation without guaranteed rights, with the big stick as its supreme law—such is the picture of our glorious Republic. The Tsar himself might envy our quick progress towards his ideal.

Police tyranny is the acme of our "free institutions." Unrestrained by responsibility, every uniformed ruffian feels himself authorized to ruthlessly violate the fundamental rights of the people. How savagely cruel the "guardians of the peace" behave towards defenceless workingmen! How brave they are in maltreating the women and children of the poor! But no wonder. Full well they realize their immunity. No one dares censure them. Indeed, they are glorified on all sides. Yet how slavishly servile they bow their knee before their employers. In fact, what purpose do the police serve but to watch the slumbers of the rich?

The rulers forgive their defenders all corruption and every crime, so long as they prove themselves proficient in silencing the cry of hunger. The police are the means

of violence employed to secure and perpetuate the system of robbery.

But vain is the hope of the rulers. Suppression and brutality cannot save their barbaric institutions. The big stick is but a weak social pillar. A house divided against itself cannot stand. Social life based on injustice, oppression, and exploitation cannot long survive. Neither order nor peace is possible where the masses are chronically on the verge of starvation.

Tyrants have ever been blind to the lessons of history. They would fain silence the voice of liberty and stifle the demand for well-being with severe police methods and hysteric legislation. Deaf to the cries of misery, they drive men to acts of desperation. Supported by their subsidized press, they seek to saddle the Anarchists with responsibility for the consequences of *their own crimes.*

* * *

THE Union Square incident gives striking proof of the results of suppression. The authorities claim that the organizers of the intended mass meeting failed to secure a permit. Nothing could better characterize the situation than such a statement. What becomes of the right of free speech and assembly if one must first beg leave to exercise it of some bureaucrat? Shall constitutional guarantees depend on the whim of this or that official? The very fact that the people must beg such permission nullifies all inherent rights.

That police brutality is directly responsible for the Union Square incident is clearly proven by the statement of the police themselves and the press. They allege that the unfortunate youth, Cohen-Silverstein, was the bomb-thrower; they also credit him with the following explanation:

"I do not regret the act, but I am sorry I did not succeed in killing some policemen. They have always treated me brutally; they have never given me or any of my associates a fair chance, even when we were peaceable.

"They have been persecuting me pretty nearly all the time since I came from Russia, four years ago, to get work, leaving my wife and two children behind.

"For weeks I had been trying to find out how to make a bomb that would wipe out a great number of policemen. I knew the time would come when I would have a chance to use the bomb.

Finally I bought an encyclopedia and found that a very murderous bomb can be made by mixing nitro-glycerine and nails.

"I made a bomb and carried it to work with me and then brought it along when I came to attend the meeting.

"As I expected, the police began to mistreat me even before I reached the scene. Two of them saw me get off the Subway train and start toward the meeting place. They ordered me away. I fought them, but they were stronger, and finally forced me to walk back downtown.

"Later, when I went back to the meeting, they mistreated me again, told me to get out. I slunk away then, but it was only to wait until I could see enough of them together so that the bomb would kill more than one."

Silverstein may have not been the bomb-thrower, nor the author of the above statement. But whoever committed the deed, the explanation is most fitting and true. It points its finger at the real causes of such acts. Violence above inevitably creates violence below.

* * *

SUPPRESSION of free speech is fast becoming an every-day occurrence. In Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, Seattle, and numerous other cities "the club"—in the words of Inspector Schmittberger—"is mightier than the Constitution."

Massachusetts, once the storm-center of revolutionary thought and deed, rich in noble sons who fought and bled for ideals of liberty! To-day the Bay State is a country of shop-keepers, their souls pitifully withered by the fires of Mammon. But a solitary native voice was raised in protest against the forcible suppression of Comrade Alexander Berkman's lectures. Rev. Eliot White alone had the courage to demand that the right of free speech be not interfered with. For this most un-American stand Mr. White was dragged through the streets of Worcester and thrown into jail. Such has ever been the fate of the champions of liberty.

The powers that be vetoed the public appearance of Comrade Berkman in Worcester, Chelsea, and Boston. Was it considered dangerous to "peace and order" to permit our comrade to lecture? On the contrary. Had the authorities really feared "incendiary language," they would have welcomed the opportunity to arrest our friend as soon as the "legal bounds" of free speech were overstepped. But the oppressors realized only too well that an Anarchist lecture is dangerous solely to organized

violence and corruption; they feared that truth might prove stronger than the powers of darkness. Indeed, a justified fear.

And the people—the descendents of the rebels who participated in the memorable tea incident—tamely submitted to the dictates of the latter-day Hessians. These Myrmidons are now the sole guardians of public morals, the last hope of our noble institutions. Their intelligence was fitly demonstrated by the Worcester Chief of Police. Asked why Alexander Berkman's meeting was suppressed, he replied: "Because it was to be a meeting for Anarchism." When requested to explain what Anarchism meant, he replied: "I don't know what it is; but whatever it is, it is bad."

The authorities of Chelsea and Boston also felt called upon to save the country and incidentally convince the people of the unselfish zeal and protecting rôle of the "Safety" Department. Alexander Berkman's lectures were ordered suppressed in both cities. But police stupidity is unequalled. Though the managers of the engaged halls were easily intimidated into closing their doors, we succeeded in holding one meeting at Chelsea and one at Boston, according to our original schedule. Both lectures were well attended. The police, ignorant of our changed plans, were not present at the meetings; as a result, order was not disturbed.

Boston, the Hub of the world! Aye, but hubs need thorough cleaning.

* * *

LIKE Boston, like Chicago.

There the whole department was mustered to suppress Comrade Emma Goldman. As usual, the hall keepers were threatened with deprivation of their licenses; and since the former depend upon the grace of the police, they had to obey. On one occasion, when Comrade Emma Goldman participated in a private social and ascended the platform to make a few remarks, a platoon of police swooped down upon her and dragged her off the rostrum in a most outrageous manner. Captain Mahoney took advantage of the opportunity to express his sentiments in the vernacular of a Bowery ruffian, using most insulting language towards our friend. His behavior was calculated to provoke a riot in the audience.

Fortunately, those who witnessed the outrage controlled their indignation. But can any intelligent man doubt that such police methods sow the seeds of future acts of desperation?

* * *

DOES the radical press of the country realize the dangerous precedent established by the admistrative exclusion of *La Questione Sociale* from the mails?

It required a stretch of imagination of which only a Roosevelt is capable, to interpret the laws against "obscenity" as applicable to "glorification of violence." The most zealous champions of legality are always the first to twist the law to suit their personal bias. The statute as to immorality is plainly directed against matters of exclusively sexual character. But, the proper authority for suppressing the Paterson Anarchist publication lacking, the President constituted his own will the supreme law. He directed his Postmaster General to exclude *La Questione Sociale* from the mails on the ridiculous pretext of the paper being "immoral," because it opposes government.

Suppression of an undesirable publication by administrative process is nowadays practiced only in Russia. A storm of protest would shake any West European country were a postmaster to constitute himself censor, prosecutor, judge, and jury in his own exalted person. But where is the public opinion of America? Will the intellectual elements remain passive in face of a precedent fraught with such danger to every independent publication? Can they not realize that no free press is possible when dependent upon the whim of irresponsible officials? The first victim, naturally, is an Anarchist paper. The precedent once established, the Socialist press will have its turn, till finally the voice of *all opposition*, of independent, honest criticism is stifled.

* * *

NO aid can be expected from the capitalist press in curbing the autocratic tendencies of our governmental institutions.

A well-known writer once characterized the press as the strongest power of darkness. It may sound paradoxical to those naïve enough to see in the press the bulwark of liberty. Considering, however, the lackey rôle

played by the great majority of the capitalistic papers, one is forced to characterize the press as a conscious means of perverting its true mission, propagating ideals of slavish submission, and glorifying all forms of oppression.

There is nothing surprising in the vicious attitude of our daily papers. They are owned by the plutocrats and are designed to serve *their* interests—the conservation of present political and economic forms.

It is for this reason that the position of an editor on a capitalistic newspaper is one of the most despicable that a man of conscience could fill. He is the slave of his master, owned body and soul; he voices only his employers' thoughts and serves their interests. His intellect is at the command of the highest bidder. A moral prostitute, he stands beneath the poor unfortunate who merely sells her body.

* * *

IN the February issue of MOTHER EARTH we published the proclamation of the Mexican revolutionists arrested and incarcerated by the Federal authorities at the request of the Mexican dictator, Diaz.

The wide-spread protest against the action of the Washington officials in aiding the persecution of Mexican reformers has served to prevent the latter's extradition, but so far their liberation has not been accomplished.

The victims of Mexican tyranny have been incarcerated in the prisons of free America for seven months. The Washington authorities are trying their utmost to influence the Federal courts to order the extradition of the prisoners. The authorities are apparently not satisfied with the suppression of free speech and free press; they strive with all the power at their command to destroy the last vestiges of the right of asylum.

* * *

AS the only truthful and decent man in the whole wide land, Roosevelt must have felt terribly lonesome—till he discovered his affinity in Policeman Shippy.

"Bravo, Chief!" cried the man who shot a fleeing Spaniard, when he heard that the Chicago "hero" killed an unarmed boy of twenty.

"If I could only reward him with a fat civil service

job," thought Roosevelt. That proving impracticable for the time being, the President placated his soul by inviting Herman Robinson, of the Central Federated Union, to dinner. "That fellow deserves a square meal. His language is strong; his wealth of epithets fought the Socialists to a standstill. He is eminently a desirable citizen."

And the eagle flapped his wings and screamed.

* * *

JUDGE WOOD, in sentencing Harry Orchard to be hanged, recommended to the Board of Pardons of the State of Idaho that the sentence of the arch-perjurer be commuted, without intimating the degree of commutation. His recommendation was based on a legal decision in which he quoted authorities to show that an "equitable right" exists on the part of a confessing accomplice telling "the whole truth" to be spared the death sentence.

He declared he believed that Orchard told "the full and exact truth," and that he proposed that the men whom Orchard implicated should yet receive punishment. He said the acquittal of Haywood and Pettibone by two juries was not inconsistent with this declaration, as their verdicts did not signify that Haywood and Pettibone were innocent, but that the State had failed to present enough legal evidence, aside from the confession, to warrant their conviction.

The opinion of the honorable judge clearly shows how the mine owners and their henchmen still smart under the crushing defeat they suffered through the acquittal of Haywood and Pettibone. The plutocracy never forgives its enemies. Nor does it forget its friends. Orchard, the tool of the capitalistic conspiracy against labor, must be rewarded. The self-convicted multi-murderer and perjurer, who told "the full and exact truth" to hang Haywood, is now to receive the gift of life from his accomplices; later on, when the memory of his perfidy grows dim in the minds of the people, full liberty will be granted him.

Government and capital cannot afford to waste such precious lives. The State needs its Orchards. Without them government—legalized murder and robbery—were impossible.

THE Russian Revolution has lost in Gregory Gershuni one of its noblest, most faithful, and brilliant sons. In his personality was embodied the true spirit of revolutionary Russia. Heroic, uncompromising idealism and absolute self-sacrifice were the keynote of Gregory Gershuni's character. He was a giant in ability, energy, and active application. His eventful life is comparable only with that of the heroic martyrs of Russia's liberty in the early days of the movement. The Russian people mourn his death with the deepest sense of a personal loss. His memory can fitly be honored only by those who fully appreciate the sublime spirit of Gregory Gershuni, the revolutionist and pride of Free Russia.

VIOLENCE AND ANARCHISM

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

IT is growing rather monotonous to hear the cry of "Anarchist conspiracy" raised whenever and wherever there happens an "unlawful" shot or bomb explosion.

Let us consider the matter dispassionately. Is violence specifically Anarchistic? Is the taking of human life such a very unusual occurrence among "civilized" peoples? Is our whole social existence anything but an uninterrupted series of murder, assassination, eradication? All our honored institutions are rooted in the very spirit of murder. Do we build warships for educational purposes? Is the army a Sunday school? Our police, jails, and penitentiaries—what purpose do they serve but to suppress, kill, and maim? Is the gallows the symbol of our brotherhood, the electric chair the proof of our humanitarianism?

"All these things are necessary evils," we are told by the self-satisfied. True, they are necessary; necessary to preserve society as it is. But has it ever occurred to the "good citizen" whether it is really necessary to preserve things as they are? Is it indeed worth while?

Organized society can have but one *raison d'être,* namely, the greatest good of its members. Let us examine, then, whether society, as at present constituted, can be justly said to fulfill its mission.

No life, individual or collective, is possible without the means of subsistence. The social members supplying these means are, consequently, the life-givers of the community. And who are they? The question answers itself automatically, so to speak: the producers of the country's wealth are the conservators of its life. All members and classes of society should equally benefit by the fact of our combined effort as a society. But if, for any reason, distinctions are to be made, the producing class, the real backbone of the social body, should have the preference.

In other words, the workers are the ones who should enjoy the greatest benefits arising from social organization. That is the true mission of human society. Does the latter accomplish it? Does it come anywhere near accomplishment?

By no means. The producers are the very ones on whose shoulders rests the whole burden of our social evils. They are the disinherited, the submerged. Their products are the property of someone else; the land and machinery, without which no production is possible, are not owned by them; as a result, they are forced to sell their labor for whatever pittance the employers condescend to give. Hence poverty, starvation, and widespread misery among the very class which, as the sole producer, has the best claim to enjoy the blessings of organized social life.

To support, defend, and perpetuate these unjust and terrible conditions, it is necessary to have police, prisons, laws, and government. For the disinherited are not content to forever starve in the midst of plenty, and the exploited are beginning to cry out against their cruel bondage.

These cries, these signs of rebellious dissatisfaction must be stifled. That is the mission of law and government: to preserve things as they are; to secure to the rich their stolen wealth; to strangle the voice of popular discontent.

Such is the social life of "civilized" countries. A life of misery and degradation, economic exploitation, governmental suppression, lawful brutality, judicial murder. Sham, injustice, and tyranny are the synonyms of organized society. Shall we preserve it as it is? Is it necessary and desirable? Is it even possible?

* * *

"But you can't regenerate society by violence, by a Union Square bomb," the well-meaning people argue.

Indeed, full well we know we cannot. Be fair; give ear. Do not confound the philosophy of a better, freer, and happier life with an *act resulting from the very evils which that philosophy seeks to abolish.*

Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelitism; of individual liberty and well-being, as opposed to legal oppression, robbery, and universal misery.

This condition of social regeneration cannot be achieved by the will or act of any man or party. The enlightenment of the masses as to the evils of government, the awakening of the public conscience to a clear understanding of justice and equity—these are the forces which will abolish all forms of bondage, political, economical, and social, replacing present institutions by free co-operation and the solidarity of communal effort.

"But the bomb?" cry the judges in and out of court. The bomb is the echo of your cannon, trained upon our starving brothers; it is the cry of the wounded striker; 'tis the voice of hungry women and children; the shriek of those maimed and torn in your industrial slaughter houses; it is the dull thud of the policeman's club upon a defenceless head; 'tis the shadow of the crisis, the rumbling of suppressed earthquake—it is manhood's lightning out of an atmosphere of degradation and misery that king, president, and plutocrat have heaped upon humanity. The bomb is the ghost of your past crimes.

You may foam and legislate, arrest, imprison, and deport. You may still further tighten the thumb-screws of persecution, erect more gallows, and build electric chairs. Pitiful fools! Thus was Christ crucified as a disturber of "Caesar's peace." Did Golgotha suppress his teaching? Have the unspeakable tortures of the Inquisition eradicated free thought? Did Louis XVI. save his crown —or his head—by *lettre de cachet?* Has the cause of the Abolitionists been exterminated by the judicial murder of John Brown?

"Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle." In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic, and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and

suppress Anarchists and Anarchism—because of those efforts—the people will yet learn the truth.

* * *

Though well aware that the Union Square bomb—whoever its thrower—was no result of any conspiracy, the police insisted on my arrest. As usual, they were the first to break their sacred law: my protest notwithstanding, I was photographed and Bertillioned, in contempt of a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State, declaring such police methods illegal before the conviction of an arrested person. Having absolutely no evidence against me, the police resorted to the ever-ready charge of "inciting to riot." Naturally, when my hearing took place, the case collapsed like an empty flour sack; however, the authorities grasped the opportunity to air their wisdom. The detectives triumphantly announced that they had made the "important discovery" that I am an Anarchist, and the presiding magistrate assured me that Tolstoi could not possibly be an Anarchist, since "all Anarchism is criminal Anarchism." The learned Cadi suggested that I "change the name of the party." "As long as you persist in calling yourself an Anarchist, and evidently take pride in it, it is the duty of the police to keep you under surveillance." I assured the honorable man that the name suited *me* perfectly; if it did not sound pleasant in the long ears of authority, so much the worse for the latter.

The brutal stupidity of the police is equalled only by the lack of decency on the part of some Socialists and other kid-glove heroes. These, our step-brothers, try to curry favor with popular prejudice by classifying—against their better knowledge—Anarchists with the police. The Socialists, once themselves the victims of calumny and persecution, have now in their turn become calumniators and persecutors. They have learned and are practicing capitalistic tactics while yet an insignificant socio-political factor. What, then, would be the effect of the "materialistic conception of history" upon the Socialists, if they should ever grasp the reins of government and achieve real power? Will there be found sufficient jailers in the world to supply the needs of triumphant Socialism?

But neither plutocratic nor Socialistic misrepresentation and persecution will halt the march of humanity towards light, liberty, and Anarchy.

EN ROUTE

Dear Readers of MOTHER EARTH:

I had hoped to be able to give you in this issue an account of the truly "American chivalry and hospitality" extended me by the Chicago Police Department. I know you would enjoy it almost as well as I did. But such an important account can not be properly treated en route, in a shaking train. It requires more time and leisure than I have now. I shall, therefore, ask you to content yourself meanwhile with the information that I am seriously considering to send a vote of thanks to the Chicago protectors of law and disorder for their tremendous interest in the spread of our ideas and in my welfare. Appreciating the fact that I had lectured every night, holding tremendously large meetings in St. Louis and other cities, until I reached Chicago, the police immediately issued strict orders that no halls should be rented us, that I might not be tempted to speak, in order that my throat may rest up. Also mindful of the fact that the truth speaks loudest when an attempt to silence it is made, the Department had a special squad at large to suppress free speech and assembly at all costs. Of course, all that was done from paternal motives and especially to supply the reporters with material to write about. They meant no harm, I am sure, not even when one of them tenderly lifted me off the platform. Who said the age of chivalry is gone? No, indeed, not so long as the Chicago police and captains are in existence. The police evidently thought that it is time Emma Goldman be heard by a large number of people, instead of a mere hallful. That is why they gave me an opportunity to have my undelivered lecture printed in a Chicago daily, having a circulation of more than 50,000; also another article in a morning paper of large circulation. Don't you think they deserve thanks? As to the amount of good their action has done in other cities, that could not be fully estimated. Thousands came to the meetings in Minneapolis; thousands were turned away, as our halls were not large enough to hold such unexpected multitudes. The same will no doubt be true in all the other cities along the line of my route. Just think of how much other speakers would pay to get such splendid

advertising, and all without any efforts on my part, at that.

True, one who is not used to such "kind handling and such flattering attention," as I have received, might have felt somewhat annoyed; but as I have enjoyed similar honors on several previous occasions, I can probably stand it the better. At any rate, I assure you, dear friends, I am hale and hearty and more than ever determined to go on. Of course, I am a little tired, but that is not the fault of the authorities. Not at all. Lack of privacy, constant visitors, lectures every night, a large correspondence, two bodyguards closely on my heels,

"Who watch him when he tries to weep,
And when he tries to pray;
Who watch him lest himself should rob
The prison of its prey,"—

would make anybody tired.

Friends, the American sky looks black and sinister; the sun has hidden in shame, unwilling to witness the growing brutality and despotism on the part of those who have taken it upon themselves to outrage every sense of liberty and justice. One can not afford to be tired these days, when brave souls are needed for the battle. Yes, brave souls and clear heads, who will help to free the earth from the chains of ignorance, brutality, and cowardice.

En route to Winnipeg. EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH

(Correspondence.)

"EMMA GOLDMAN cannot speak," that's what Chief of Police Shippy said. "All right," said Assistant Chief of Police Schuttler, "I will carry out your orders." And he did. A two weeks' heroic effort to secure a hall for Emma Goldman to speak in was unsuccessful. Many subterfuges were resorted to, but the police "always beat us to it." The Police Department publicly stated that they had no objection to Emma Goldman or any other Anarchists speaking in Chicago as long as they obeyed the law, but it was evident that they exercised the utmost vigilance in preventing her from speaking in Chicago.

The hall that was secured in the Masonic Temple for her first speech was the place where Anarchist meetings had been held for the last three years, without the least objection on the part of the landlord; but twenty-four hours before Miss Goldman was to speak, the chairman was notified by the proprietor that the police had been to his office and had given him strict orders not to let Emma Goldman speak, so he immediately cancelled the lease. The police notified some six hundred hall keepers in Chicago not to rent their halls for any meeting where Emma Goldman was to lecture. Mr. ———, a saloon keeper, who had a hall on the Northside, told the police that he would rent his hall to anybody he chose; four hours later he was promptly arrested for selling liquor to minors.

Another hall keeper who threatened to defy the police and rent his hall to Emma Goldman, a few hours later was notified by the Building Department that he would have to put in a new fire escape, an alteration which would entail the cost of several thousand dollars.

I rented a store on Dearborn Street and made a public announcement that Emma Goldman was to speak there; at 12 o'clock the Building and the Health and Fire Departments had investigated the place, notifying me that everything was all right, but at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the police brought me word that no meeting could be held there because the store had been condemned by the Building Department as unsafe. I made inquiries and found that the place was condemned because the floor was unsafe and the door did not open outwardly. We offered to put in a new floor and to change the door, but the Building Department absolutely refused to consider our proposition.

At a meeting of the Literary Society at Workman's Hall Miss Goldman was on the program to speak; although the meeting was not publicly announced, the police got word of it through the treachery of a newspaper man, and immediately filled the hall with about a hundred officers. When the chairman announced that after a clarinet solo Emma Goldman would speak, the police buckled up their belts, examined their guns, drew their clubs, and stood ready to charge. Miss Goldman came to the platform and said: "Ladies and gentle-

men, I hope you will all remain quiet, no matter what happens," and immediately Captain Mahoney, a great, big pig-faced Irishman, weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds, rushed to the stage and without the slightest provocation dragged Miss Goldman from the platform, and pulled and hauled her through the hall like a sack of flour, cursing and shoving her all the way. He used brute force, bad manners, and a language which is only characteristic of men who have spent many years in training. He wanted her to get out on the street without her coat and wrap, but finally, when Miss Goldman insisted on having her wraps, he said to a man: "Get the rags of this thing."

Why did he do this? She had not disobeyed any law, she had not uttered one word about Anarchism. Even Schuttler said that Mahoney "went a little too far, he ought not to have done that"; but he did it, and Mahoney bids fair to become an Inspector some day.

One Sunday afternoon Miss Goldman went quietly to a meeting of the Anthropological Society to hear a friend of hers lecture. Immediately fifty stalwart guardians of the "peace" were sent to prevent her speaking.

Not only did the police suppress her lectures, but they did everything possible to annoy and make her uncomfortable. Schuttler sent two plain-clothes men to trail her wherever she went. They did not even keep a respectful distance when Miss Goldman went visiting, or shopping, or walking; they were ever at her side. There was absolutely no sane reason why she should have been hounded by the police, except that Chief Shippy said, "Emma Goldman cannot speak"; and so the Constitution of the United States, the freedom of speech, decency, and a square deal have all been put aside because of the whim of Chief of Poilce Shippy. Yet with all the efforts that the Police Department made to hush the voice of Anarchy, Anarchism has taken a step forward, such as it has not done in Chicago for many years.

During the three weeks that Miss Goldman was in Chicago the sale of Anarchist literature was greater than for the previous year. The Anarchist books at the public library were in constant demand. A large number of lectures and sermons was heard in the lecture

halls, churches, and colleges in Chicago. Hundreds of letters from sane, rational, liberty-loving citizens were called forth, and absolutely every Anarchist plot which was started in the newspapers was proven to be a baseless fabrication.

Chicago realized for the first time that free speech and the privilege to assemble were interferred with by the Police Department without any rhyme or reason.

BEN. L. REITMAN, M.D.

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ABDERITES VERSUS ANARCHISTS

By MAX BAGINSKI.

ABDERA was a city of ancient Greece, situated in the province of Thracea. It achieved immortal fame by harboring within its walls the most consummate blockheads and full-fledged cretins. Abderite and dullard were considered synonyms.

There was, however, one great, happy exception in this city of simpletons. Demokritos, the "laughing philosopher," had the misfortune to be born in Abdera. (Strange things often happen. Even Philadelphia or Boston occasionally gives birth to one who does not develop into a Puritan hare-brain, or a pestilential hypocrite of speculative tendencies.) Demokritos furthermore inherited considerable means which enabled him to travel extensively, thus removing him from the dull atmosphere of his native place. Indeed, the stupidity of the Abderites was to him a rich source of philosophical humor.

It were well for our comrades to exercise a grain of this philosophical humor on the occasion of every new Anarchist-razzia which, cancer-like, breaks out from the sublime stupidity of "public opinion." To be sure, one can not help being filled at the same time with that anger which is born in the heart of every thinking man at the sight of knaves and idiots at work to hide and poison all sources of a better understanding.

Beginning with the President, down to the most incompetent newspaper reporter, barbaric inanity with regard to Anarchism has woven an endless chain in

which no link is missing that ignorance, brutality, and oppression could forge. And the jackass herd of desirable citizens cries Amen and heaves a sigh of relief when police ignoramuses, lacking the least conception of Anarchism or Anarchists, assure the dull public that they keep their sharp eagle eyes upon the Anarchists and are at all times fully cognizant of the devilish plots of the conspirative brood.

But the true secret as to the quickest means of annihilating the Anarchists is known only to Roosevelt. He lost no time in extolling the Chicago Chief of Police for his cowardly shooting down of Averbuch. His statesmanship apparently culminates in the belief that the Anarchist philosophy can be exterminated by treating every Anarchist—or those the authorities believe to be such—to a dose of powder and lead. Kaiser William rides his antagonists down; Roosevelt shoots them down. What a brace of incomparable Falstaffs!

Many an ancient Hunnic chief, if resurrected into life, would doubtlessly agree with the Presidential view. Modern men, however, can but smile at such mental asininity; the latter leads those more intelligent than the average rabble and newspaper scum to bethink themselves and to study the ideas of Anarchism.

The Anarchist-eaters believe to have executed a master-stroke of Abderitism by turning national muttonhead and laying the blame for Anarchism at the door of foreigners. Poor land of freedom! Thy native sons are considered mere stupid sheep, entirely content to supinely suffer the most incredible exploitation and oppression.

The despotism of the financial Tsars, stealing the natural wealth of the country and forging new chains of terrible slavery for the people, does not in the least shake the pious faith of "native Americans" in the perfection of their country's institutions. These Tsars rule the land with an iron absolutism, designedly creating, when their interests demand, panics, crises, or wholesale starvation, to still stronger fetter their slaves and make them more humble and servile. But that does not influence in the least the "good native" in his desirable citizenship. The political life of "his" Republic is rotten to the core; all the governmental institutions are owned

by plutocratic robbers; in the administrative, legislative, and judicial departments their lucre and will are the only law. But even that fails to move the "true American." He continues to sing "The Red, White, and Blue" with the same old blind reverence and still believes the fable of popular sovereignty, although the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution have less value in the eyes of the masters of the Republic than so much waste paper.

What an ideal condition! 'Tis only the Anarchists, the degenerate foreigners, who disturb this Arcadian idyl.

Were this estimate of the natives correct, it were the best proof of their total mental bankruptcy. It would indeed stamp them as a nation of hopeless Abderites, natural-born simpletons and coolies. It were then so much more our sacred duty to continuously criticize and revolutionize their minds. We owe it to civilization and the unborn generations. As lovers of humanity and pioneers of a free society we could not remain content to passively witness eighty million souls perish in mental and physical peonage.

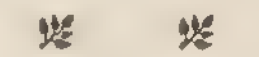
Neither the Hunnic methods of a Roosevelt, nor the pedagogic whipping post of a Bonaparte could prevent our brotherly, humanitarian activity.

Yet we are inclined to think that the manufacturers of the opinions of press and government are in reality far worse Abderites and ignoramuses than their American dupes. The latter, those that are part of the disinherited and oppressed masses, may indeed still protest against the revolutionizing of their musty mental life; but the misery of their existence, their oppression, and continued pauperization will not permit them to remain long satisfied with the existing social "order." The hunger-whip of the slave-holders will finally flog out their prejudices, and some day they will contemptuously fling away their paper "rights and liberties" and realize the truth as to the terrible conditions in the glorious land of Stars and Stripes.

The foreigners need not smuggle into the country, like contraband, the motifs and causes of a revolutionary social movement. They are inherent in the very conditions of the Republic; their name is legion and they

will gradually assume live and active forms in the heads and hearts of the people.

We are fully convinced that in this country the spread of Anarchist ideas will be rapid. In various European lands the people still battle for popular suffrage; there the energy of the proletariat is being wasted to achieve government "by the people." Here, however, the total failure of such political playthings is becoming apparent to everyone. The alleged sovereignty of the people is the last political mask of social and economic despotism. Beyond that are the shores of true liberty, social peace, and well-being, to which the finger of the social revolution is pointing—the land of Anarchy.



OUR PRESENT ATTITUDE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

THE present organization of society, working logically and inexorably, has brought about a situation which both Socialists and Anarchists have all along foreseen and foretold. It was no more to be avoided than the leap of Niagara is to be avoided, when once the headwaters start on their outward course to the sea.

Those who imagine that industrial conditions can be made or unmade by this or that inadequate legal patchwork, find themselves in the midst of a frightful boiling of irreconcilable elements, which they weakly and childishly try to explain by some trivial reason, such as the attitude of this or that politician, or this or that capitalist, or by some single political move (such as protection without restriction of immigration), or by the wickedness of human nature, or by blaming the "calamity press," or by the will of God, and so on. The condition is so terrible that somehow they are compelled to "sit up and take notice"; but they do not perceive that it is the inevitable result of the whole politico-economic lie that man can be free and the institution of property continue to exist.

I wish a sharp distinction made between the legal institution of property, and property in the sense that what a man definitely produces by his own labor is his own. It is the legal institution of property which has produced

this condition, in which the elemental cries of humanity are swelling up in a frightful discordant chorus, because the elemental needs of humanity are being denied,—and denied to masses of men.

Now, what has happened and what must continue to happen? The people in whom Christian ethical instincts predominate are starving and dying in corners; the people in whom natural instincts predominate over ordinary rules of action are stealing in preference to starving; the jails, the courts, the prisons, are full of these victims of social injustice, who, under free conditions, would be active, energetic, useful people. And still the streets are full of beggars for the means of life.

Now, in times like these, wild outbursts of desperation must be expected. It is not the business of Anarchists to preach wild and foolish acts,—acts of violence. For, truly, Anarchism has nothing in common with violence, and can never come about save through the conquest of men's minds. But when some desperate and life-denied victim of the present system does strike back at it, by violence, it is not our business to heap infamies upon his name, but to explain him as we explain others, whether our enemies or our friends, as the fated fruit of the existing "order."

We must expect that such people will be called Anarchists, in advance. No matter what they themselves say, no matter what we say, the majority of people will believe they acted not as desperate *men*, but as theoretical *Anarchists*. Such has been the fate of every new idea which sought to penetrate the human mind and to uplift it; the sins of the existing order were blamed at its door, and every calumny that rage and fear could invent was heaped upon it. This is an old, old story.

Well, what of it? If this is the price to be paid for an idea, then let us pay. There is no need of being troubled about it, afraid, or ashamed. This is the time to stand boldly and say, "Yes, I believe in the displacement of this system of injustice by a just one; I believe in the end of starvation, exposure, and the crimes caused by them; I believe in the human soul regnant over all laws which man has made or will make; I believe there is no peace now, and there never will be peace, so long as man rules over man; I believe in the total disintegration and disso-

lution of the principle and practice of authority; *I am an Anarchist*, and if for this you condemn me, I stand ready to receive your condemnation.

It has been my experience that when you face an enemy and look him in the eyes, he will accord you far more respect than when you shuffle and shirk. And, moreover, you stand far more chance of convincing him, or the indifferent man at the side, by an open-eyed declaration than by any indirection. I say these things because I have been pained to see that in the present period of repression many of our comrades think and act otherwise. I am sure that most who thus act Peter and deny their Master, do it out of reasoned conviction, and not cowardice; but I am also sure that it is a very mistaken policy, and can have only wretched results.

Face and outface—for these are times when "valor is discretion."

* * *

OUR PROGRESSIVE DESPOTISM

By THEODORE SCHROEDER.

AS I view history, the evolution of organized government toward liberty, especially in its relation to laws which are penal in character, is clearly divided into three general classes of tendency. The first of these manifests itself in the effort to restrain autocratic sovereigns and their minions in the arbitrariness of their power to punish, by subjecting their wills and penalties to the authority of prior known rules or laws. The second step in this evolution toward liberty is to curtail the authority of the law-making power as to the manner of its exercise, so that it may not, even under the forms of law, violate that natural justice which requires uniformity of the law in its application to all those who in the nature of things are similarly situated, which uniformity, of course, is impossible unless the law is certain in the definition of what is prohibited. The third tendency is marked by the curtailment of the legislative power as to subject matter of its control, so as to conserve a larger human liberty by excluding certain conduct—and progressively an increasing quantum thereof—from all possible governmental regulation, even by general, uniform,

and certain laws. This should later limit legislation to the prohibition of only such conduct as in the nature of things necessarily involves an invasion of the liberty of another, to his material and ascertainable injury. I have no doubt it was such a government, of limited power to regulate human affairs, that the framers of American constitutions intended to establish.

The first stage of the evolution above indicated we generally term a lawless government of men, in contradistinction to a government by men according to law, and such a government is always despotic and arbitrary, although it may at times be a relatively benevolent despotism. The second stage means a government by men according to prior established rules, which rules may be as invasive and unjust as the legislative power sees fit to make them. This condition is aptly described as tyranny by the law, of which we find many examples all around us. The third stage wherein the legislative power is limited to the suppression of acts which are necessarily, directly and immediately, invasive, is aptly termed liberty under law. Our present stage of evolution, so far as the leaders of thought are concerned, is probably to be located near the beginnings of this third stage, and in the course of a few thousands of years we may attain to something approximating real liberty under the law; and in another million of years we may attain to the Anarchist ideal, which is liberty without law, made possible because no one has the inclination to invade his neighbor, and all are agreed as to what constitutes an invasion. The great mass of Americans, and humans generally, are now in that stage of their development which compels a love of tyranny under the forms of law, a tyranny tempered only by the discretion of the ignorant, such as know nothing of liberty in the sense of an acknowledged claim of right to remain exempt from authority.

The transition from despotism to government by law, in its earlier stages is marked by the misleading seemings of law, which, however, are devoid of all its essence. This is illustrated in many of the miscalled laws of the Russian Tsar, and also in the Chinese code, which latter prescribes a punishment for all those who shall be found guilty of "improper conduct," without supplying any further criterion or test of guilt. Manifestly under such

authority the magistrates are justified in punishing anything which whim, caprice, or malice might prompt them to adjudge "improper." Accordingly, we have a state of affairs wherein under the misleading appearances of law everything is condemned, and the arbitrary will of the officers of the State again creates the penalty instead of merely enforcing "the law" as they find it. Thus, while observing the outward forms and seemings of law, the people are still governed by the mere despotic wills of officials.

The Supreme Court of the United States has put its seal of condemnation upon such tyranny, in the following words: "It would certainly be dangerous if the legislature could set a net large enough to catch all possible offenders, and leave it to the courts to step inside and say who could be rightfully detained and who should be set at large. This would, to some extent, substitute the judicial for the legislative part of the government."—(U. S. vs. Reese, 92 U. S. 221.)

In our postal laws is a statute penalizing the transmission by mail of "obscene and indecent" literature, art, etc. No standard of judgment by which to determine guilt is furnished in the statute, and, as with the Chinese code, anything is "improper conduct" which the arbitrary will of the magistrate may choose to include, so with us everything is "indecent" which whim, caprice, malice, or sex-superstition may prompt the judge to include therein and punish, or which the Postmaster General may elect to exclude from the mail. That particular phase of despotic power is so old, and the average "intelligent" American slave has become so accustomed to it, that the very arbitrariness of this power is accepted as a part of their "liberty."

However, a new scope has been added to this tyranny. As a part of the same statute above referred to, it is provided that, "Every obscene, lewd, or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, writing, print, or other publication of an indecent character, and *every article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, and every article or thing intended or adapted for any indecent or immoral use,*" and any information sent through the mail telling where any of these may be had, shall be punished.

Repeated futile efforts have been made to induce the courts to construe "indecent" so as to include irreligious literature. Some State statutes have been amended so as to include "filthy or disgusting" books, etc., under the ban. Again the effort was made to have courts punish blasphemy under that law, and again the effort failed, the court holding that these statutory words all implied a sexual significance. So also the statutory words "every *article or thing* intended or adapted for any indecent or immoral use," have heretofore been uniformly construed as having reference only to sexual immorality. However, the Postmaster General, according to a Washington dispatch dated March 21, 1908, discovered that a printed paper expressing non-sexual opinions alleged to be "Anarchistic" and which irritated him, is a "*thing* intended or adapted for any indecent or immoral use," and therefore non-mailable, and accordingly the Postmaster at Patterson, N. J., was directed to exclude *La Questione Sociale* from the mails.

This is manifestly the perversion of a statute which, for want of certainty, can never be *the law,* nor constitute the constitutionally required "due process of law." (See "Concerning Uncertainty and Due Process of Law" in *Central Law Journal,* Jan. 3, 1908, p. 2, and "The Scientific Aspect of Due Process of Law and Constructive Offenses" in *American Law Review,* June, 1908.) The word "immoral" is as uncertain in its meaning, according to scores of varying ethical schools, each with its different ethical criteria, as are the words "improper conduct" in the Chinese code, and so we have in one department reestablished the despotism of government according to the lawless will of the official.

Appeal to the courts? For what? Have you any reason to believe them to be possessed of any more enlightened view of constitutional liberty than a Postmaster General? Cite the precedents already established, you say? But why? Could the judges possibly see their application, when deeply moved with the awful word "Anarchism" right before them? Appeal to the Constitution, which in their official oath they swore to uphold? But why? I ask again. Will they not be emotionally so disturbed as to quite dethrone their reason in the face of the word—*that awful word—"Anarchist"?* I wish I could

believe it were not so. May be they could still avoid "knowing because they feel, and being firmly convinced because strongly agitated." I am no prophet; I cannot tell, but I do remember that Alexander Hamilton argued in *The Federalist* that it was useless to place a guarantee of freedom of the press in our constitutions, because, as he said, "who can give it a definition which would not leave the utmost latitude for invasion? I hold it to be impracticable; and from this I infer that its security, whatever fine declaration may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion and on the general spirit of the people, and of the government." (p. 536.) I fear he is right, and think our judicial history abundantly shows how courts have destroyed and evaded the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press, and how hopeless it is to expect to make it otherwise, especially in face of many evidences pointing to the intellectual bankruptcy of our courts and judges. The road and fate of despotism are ever the same. By a gradual accretion of power to those entrusted with authority, by successive small usurpations, this is the road to an enshrined tyranny. No single encroachment upon liberty, considered alone, ever seems worthy of great effort to destroy. Ultimately the aggregate of these becomes unbearable, and then comes the revolution by violence, a partial abrogation of tyranny, a change in method of selecting the tyrant, and the same eternal round is enacted over again. America is travelling fast toward the ultimate despotism and its violent overthrow. Shall we continue to travel in this road? It is not yet too late to retrace our steps, but there is no one who combines adequate foresight, political influence, and the moral courage successfully to lead the way back to an enlarged individualism.

THE FAMILY VERSUS THE HOME

By JOHN R. CORYELL.

IT is hardly open to question that the most important of what may be called social institutions is the family; and I wish at once to call attention to the title, and to say that I have designedly put the family, as an institution, in opposition to the home, as an institution. I have done this because I think that the home, as constituted and as understood, is in opposition to the family. I speak of this now in order that the trend of what I shall say may be better comprehended.

A family is a group of persons composed of parents and their offspring. A home is an abiding place, a shelter of some sort, where persons may eat and sleep. Children, offspring, are essential to the idea of family; they are not essential to the idea of home. It is a commonplace that many women marry for a home who have a definite intention of not having children; a man sets up a home by hiring a house-keeper; or by marrying a woman, which is much the cheaper way. Marriage, in fact, is considered the proper basis of a respectable home; and if children happen to come they are incidental, not to say accidental. Marriage and the home are our two most "sacred" institutions. The family is not a "sacred" institution, but a natural group. The home is based on marriage; the family is based on offspring, and, originally, was not in the least concerned with the ceremony of marriage. When you wish to know about marriage and the home, you go to the Church for information—I speak especially of the Christian Church; but it is the automatic tendency of all churches to meddle in domestic matters, since it is thereby that they are enabled to maintain their parasitic existence. When, on the other hand, you seek the origin of the family, you study biology; for it has its roots in the very dawn of animal life.

The family is the product of two great factors: sex attraction and parental love. The home is the product of the needs of mankind for shelter and food; and it is only incidentally and for convenience that the family congregates there. It is true that the home might be the expression of the family life, but it certainly is not

that as at present constituted, as I shall attempt to show. Logically an injury to a child would be an offence against the family; but it is quite otherwise with the home. I am sure it will be conceded that the welfare of the child is a small factor in the conservatism of the sanctity of the home; and, of course, its sanctity is its most important attribute. The most terrible assault on the sanctity of the home is made when any individual outside of it seeks to divert from their prescribed channels the affectional activities of either the male or female principal. And the enormity of the offence is not affected by the presence or absence of offspring. It seems to me that this fact establishes the essential difference between the home and the family.

It must be constantly borne in mind that in any effective discussion of this subject, the scientific method alone must be pursued. We must seek the truth without regard to where the pursuit of it will lead us. Of course, it will be necessary to disregard the taboos which the Church has set up in relation to the subject, but there is less danger in doing so now than in the days when the Church towered like a terrible spectre over the State and controlled all its outgivings of law and its punishments for the infraction thereof.

The family, as I have said, owes its existence to those two great factors, sex attraction and parental love. These factors do not grow out of the family, they are not conserved by it, but on the contrary the family owes itself to them, and without them would perish. Eliminate sex attraction, and the races of men and of all the higher animals would soon be gone from the earth; eliminate parental love, and we would relapse into barbarism, then into savagery, and at last perish altogether or lose our estate as men.

It is not difficult to demonstrate the truth of these statements, for once stated they are almost axiomatic, being nearly self-evident. From the moment when simple cells first felt drawn to combine for reproductive purposes to the moment when definite sex differentiation could be recognized, sex attraction has been the primal and ruling impulse controlling the reproduction of life forms. There is in this great factor no quality of morality, no suggestion of possible duty; in it lies only an animal impulse of

such imperiously insistent power that under its domination all considerations of safety and welfare become inoperative. We say euphemistically that love laughs at locksmiths. Why, it has become the very law of race life for the higher animals; and the male will seek the female though the finding of her means death. And death the finding of the female does mean to many of the males in certain levels of animal life. The male cicada fulfills his purpose in life, which consists only in finding the female, and then begins to dry up and die. He passes through all the stages of his growth, taking seventeen years, in some cases, to become mature; then takes his brilliant, joyous, noisy nuptial flight of a few days, at most, before death overtakes him. The male bees live only to take part in their glorious summer day's honeymoon, and then are ruthlessly slaughtered, their work in life being done. The female spider often devours the male after she has responded to his imperative impulse. The impulse works in these and other cases instinctively, you may say. It is not an instinct, it is an ungovernable impulse. Nature has attended to that. All animals lacking in the impulse naturally do not reproduce; so that in the end we have an impulse which has grown ever and ever stronger. Animals which *cannot* reason, obey the impulse to the act of reproduction just as they obey the impulse to eat. It has been left to the animals who *can* reason to make such a poor use of their powers as to seek to thwart the impulse which has its origin in life itself. But it should be said that this interference—usually, if not always—springs from the desire of one set of men to control the destinies of their fellows; for often, as in the case of the Christian Church, the meddlers—while seeking to impose an unnatural restraint upon others—have themselves given the lie to their own precepts by giving themselves over to unrestrained indulgence.

Of course, there can be nothing so futile as the attempt to interfere with the working of the principle of sex attraction; for it is the prime factor in the maintenance of the life of the race. Not that the individual is ever in the least concerned about the life of the race, but because as long as there is a race it will exist solely because of the operation of sex attraction.

I have said and repeat, for it is important, that the

individual is not in the least concerned about the life of the race to which he belongs, so far as his sex activities are involved. Nature has taken care of that, too. I say nature, but it is a convenient rather than a scientific way of saying that it is of the very nature of an animal that it should desire to do what will perpetuate its kind, since it would not have existed but for the operation of that impulse which leads it to do that which will bring others of his kind into existence. There is much talk about duty and responsibility in relation to the matter of reproduction, but there is a persistent, not to say a pretty and blushing, shrinking from the recognition of the fact that offspring are the incidents of and not the cause for the conditions which result in their being. That is to say, that sex hunger demands gratification for its own sake, and without any relation to ulterior consequences.

It is true that the time should come when a race would do well to consider everything relating to the well-being of offspring, when the whole process of reproduction should be carefully studied, when knowledge of it should be widespread, when any attempt to foster ignorance of sex functioning should be considered a dreadful offence against humanity; but it is a mere paltering with the truth to pretend that man, to-day, is thinking of aught but pleasure, of self-gratification in obeying the impulse to which he owed his own life and to whose uncontrollable domination his offspring will owe theirs. We do not reach the higher ground through sentimental cherishing of falsehood, but by means of the stepping stones of truth.

Turning now to that other great factor of which I have spoken, parental love, we find that it is not founded on any priestly derived precept, but is a cold, hard fact on which is based the very existence of society as we know it now and as it was known ages before the human animal was evolved. God sent us word through Moses that children should honor their fathers; but nature works unrelentingly to compel the father to love his child, the price of failure being annihilation. Nature grimly points out that there is nothing due the parent from the child, but that a passionless law has been operating through countless ages to eliminate the offspring of parents who were lacking in love of children, so that the race of children-loving parents only would be perpetuated. It may be said

that the price of social progress is an increasing regard for the welfare of offspring.

Low in the scale of animal life this love of offspring does not exist. Acting on the impulse of sex attraction, as yet in a low state of development, the male will fecundate the deserted eggs of the female, as in the case of most fishes; but of the millions upon millions of fish hatched in consequence, but a few thousand survive the dangers incident to babyhood, and as many eggs are perhaps destroyed as are hatched. But as we go up the scale of animal life we find the factor of parental love, which means parental care, operating more and more powerfully; not developing with the animal, but developing the animal; for it is only as the care of the parent more and more envelops the child, that the child through imitation fits itself easily to the conditions of its life, and finally becomes capable through the operation of the slowly dawning, slowly developing creative force to become something different, something better than the parent.

And now, another thing which it behooves the bewailer of race suicide to carefully consider: the greater the length of time that the parent spends in fitting the offspring for life, the greater the possibilities for the life of the child, but also the fewer children can the parent take care of. It is a long leap from the millions of eggs of the cod fish, scattered in unconsidered profusion through the waters of the Earth, to the carefully reared John Stuart Mill, for example. And we cannot have John Stuart Mills if we persuade the parents of our social body to approximate as nearly as may be to the unconsidered fecundity of the cod fish. As long as children are bred as food for powder on the battlefield, to fill the thinning ranks of cheap auxiliaries to the throbbing looms, or to fall victims to the unsanitary conditions of tenement life, just so long will real race suicide exist, and just so long will those responsible for such conditions be responsible also for the low average of human intelligence; and they will be so whether they call themselves captains of industry, preachers of the gospel, or rulers ordained of either God or people; for all alike, conscious or unconscious, they are exploiters of their kind and unsafe guides.

Wherever among the lower animals there is found a

great development of intelligence, there you may be sure to find also a high development of the factors of sex attraction and of parental love. This is seen in those extraordinary communities of the bees and ants. It is also to be noticed that it is the individuals, feeble themselves, who have grown most in intelligence by reason of their studied efforts to overcome the difficulties of environment, and who have been led by the exigencies of life to combine for mutual aid. I dare not go far into this phase of the subject and refer to it only to point out what is essential to my discussion; and that, summed up in a few words, is this: Society and the family existed before man.

That, however, is not the whole of the story. What it vitally concerns us to know is that man is the product of the family and society. What I wish to impress on you is that the family is no more man-made than it is heaven-sent; and the moral of it is that you need go to neither Church nor State for knowledge or guidance, but are far safer to trust to the traditions of society to aid you in keeping in close touch with the imperious mandate of nature to adjust yourself to her laws, while disregarding as such all outworn and mischievous rules, which would prescribe as right for to-morrow what was not right even for yesterday.

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that the family is a natural group based on sex attraction and parental love; also that the family is not so much the conservator of man's high position in the animal world as it is a means for continued progress. It would seem, in fact, as if the family were rooted in life itself, and as if any injury to the family must imperil race life. And what injury to the family can well be as great as any impairment of the vitality of either of the factors which are the springs of its being?

This, of course, is not saying that there is any sacred quality in the family that should entitle it to immunity from assault. On the contrary, if the family be a purely natural product, it will only benefit by criticism and assault of any kind; for it is self-protective and has such power that it will even in seeming death inevitably destroy its creature. It will last while man lasts, and if man, its product, use effective means for the destruction

of the human family, still the family, with its roots sucking vitality from the very fountain of life, will continue its work and no doubt produce another race. It is only the sacred institution that cannot endure criticism or resist attack. Therefore it is that the family is safe while the home is insecure; the one being natural, the other sacred.

The home is based on the ceremony of marriage; the family is utterly indifferent to the ceremony. The Church tells us that the home is a sacred institution, and that marriage is a sacrament; consequently, that there can be no home without marriage, but that there can be a home without children. The family says, marriage is a farce; that time has proven it so; that it is but a species of slavery; that it has no part or parcel in its constitution; that it is an injury to it, preventing its proper growth and expansion, hence disabling man from obtaining all the good that is possible from it. I tell you that it is the law of life to mate; and that having mated you shall love your offspring by very reason of being what you are.

Here we have nature at war with Heaven, so to speak; if that can be called war which is a serene, imperturbable smile on the part of nature and of hideous noises and grimaces on the part of Heaven's self-appointed guardian, the Church.

But the power of the Church for mischief is not dead, nor will be dead until knowledge is enthroned in the place of Church-fostered ignorance, until the love of truth takes the place of the passion for conformity. If the Church's power of injury is less than it was, it nevertheless remains what it always has been, the enemy of society in general and of the family in particular.

As to sex attraction; what has been the attitude of the Christian Church? Here we have the great natural force which was born of life and which in the nature of things has increased with the upward progress of the animal until it finds its most beneficent and beautiful expression in man. It must exist in man or man will not exist. The Church has sought by every means in its power to degrade and bring this exquisite flower of life into disrepute. It has taught that sex attraction is sinful in itself and that the attainment of sex repulsion in the individual is a long step toward Heaven. It has sought by cere-

monies to create the idea of impurity in sex attraction, while at the same time it has by its segregation of the sexes in isolated communities created those extraordinary aberrations of sex expression which are the wonder or the horror of mankind. It has sought to give a vicious sacred character to the natural union of potential parents, until at last it has succeeded in persuading itself and its dupes that the sanction to a fruitless union is of more importance to mankind than the fruitful union of naturally attracted mates. It has sought to make a rigid, artificial institution, like the sacred home, take the place of the self-expressing, self-adjusting, automatically correct family. In its insatiate greed to maintain its own parasitic life at the expense of society, it has sought to drink at the very fountain of life by degrading and befouling the sex relation and by casting infamy on motherhood; for has it not taught since its beginning that its sanction to the deliberate lust of a contemplated childless union made the sacred home, and that motherhood without its sanction was a sin always and a crime whenever it could make it so?

All this may have a vituperative seeming. I am sorry if that be so, for I wish only to make a truthful presentation; but when the truth is so damning as that which lies in the indictment of the Church, there is no help for the appearance of violence of expression.

A short time ago we had the terrible and pathetic story of the little girl up there in the Adirondacks, who was seduced, as the expression is, by her lover. I have no doubt he was her lover and might be so to-day, both of them alive and happy in their little love child, had it not been for the teachings of the Church that it was a sin for her to be a mother, and that she could not be a fit wife for her seducer because she had loved him so much as to put herself in jeopardy of motherhood. In jeopardy of motherhood! Think of that! Science tells us that parental love is a part of the very existence of men and women, but the Church cries out in deafening tones to beware of that which is the very soul of society; the Church bids us to despise the woman who answers to the clarion call of nature and becomes a mother, while we give every honor to that woman who has no thought of bearing children, but sells her body to a man in return

for a home. And it is the Church that makes that union a holy one by performing a ceremony to sanctify it—to sanctify it, mind you!—and for a small sum of money.

We are told by the Church that but for the restraining influence of a hard and fast marriage ceremony parents would not take care of their children. I suppose the priests and their dupes are quite honest in believing that, but oh, how ignorant of the great truth that man is the product of the family! Why, men and women do not delight in their children because some silly priest in a night-gown has mumbled some words over them; but on the contrary, it is the very vitality of parental love that so often enables them to overcome the blight of the Church, and care for their offspring under the most adverse circumstances of life. While men and women exist they will love their offspring because it is the very condition of existence. Hunger for food is no stronger, no more imperative in its call than is the insistence of parental love.

You may think I am loading too heavy a burden on the back of the Church, but I tell you that I have not words scorching enough to characterize the work of the Church in regard to this matter. Do you realize that the Church is the parent of that prudery which makes of the study of the mysteries of life a sin? Do you realize that it makes of the knowledge of life a crime? Comstockery is the foul and filthy expression of its attitude toward all that is most beautiful and uplifting in life; and it is its answer to the pitiful cry of suffering humanity for knowledge of life. We may not teach each other how to make the best of life because the Church says that all that relates to sex is filthy and degrading. The Church is responsible for sex aberrations; it is responsible for the terrible diseases which have been and are still the scourges of mankind; it is responsible for every evil to humanity that comes from the suppression of sex knowledge.

Here we have in the natural, social organism, the family, a means for the upliftment of mankind, but the Church frowns on it because it is not entered by the door which it has set up and for entering which you pay as toll your very manhood and that dirty money which is indispensable in all churchly transactions. The Church erects the home which is based on marriage and

anathematizes the family which knows nothing of marriage. It is of no consequence whether it forgets or never knew that the family, in a scientific sense, knows nothing whatever of foolish ceremonies. But it should know that the family is a self-regulating group and, whatever else it may do, must operate to conserve the best interests of man. That is why it exists, why it is possible for it to exist and why it has resisted so successfully to efforts of the Church to destroy it.

Of course, I am not saying that we should not study to lift the family to the highest possible plane. On the contrary, I cannot say too forcibly that now that man has become conscious of the factors in life which are susceptible of being instruments in his hands, he will be wise to study them carefully and use them wisely. But the Church stands in the way of any knowledge. It fills the air with its vociferous cries of pain, for on the way to knowledge lies its gaping grave.

When I say that there is nothing sacred in the ceremony of marriage, the Church would crucify me if it could, but in default swears I am an enemy of society and am striking blows at its foundations; when the truth is that I am a friend of society and would free it of some of the impediments which a designing priesthood has tied to its feet. It says I am an enemy of the home. It is the sacred home that I am an enemy of. I cannot praise too highly that home which is a proper expression of the free family, and which is not cast in any fixed mould by priestly hands and made from the suspicious materials gathered in an imaginary heaven.

Has not the Reverend Morgan Dix declared that the home is a very bad place for a child to be brought up in? Why should it not be? It is not the expression of a family, but the device of a cunning priesthood, aiming to fasten its grip on the very throat of humanity by prescribing a formula for every necessary and inevitable episode of life. First the sacrament of marriage, then the baptism of the infant, then the confirmation of the child, then the last rite before death, and the last rite after death.

The curse of the Church is on the woman who bears a child without permission, and its curse is on the child born out of wedlock; so the wretched Chester Gillette,

mistaught by the Church to which he seemed to have been so devoted, rather risked the happiness of his soul in the next world than take a pretty good chance of happiness in this by taking to his heart a woman who had proven her love for him. No, the Church had taught him that love was sin and motherhood no better. In other words, it is the teaching of the Church that the family is a vile thing. Chester Gillette killed the poor girl for putting him in the way of so natural a thing as a family. It was the motherhood that he was afraid of, made afraid by the teaching of the Church. If she had not threatened motherhood he would have let her live, of course.

There being no moral character attaching to the family as such, it naturally takes various forms under varying conditions. When the conditions of life are very hard, it is very likely to be polyandric in form: that is, one mother, several fathers, and resulting children. Under other conditions it is polygamic; under others, monogamic.

It seems to be the opinion of most students of the subject that the form likely to result from an informed desire for the welfare of the offspring will be the monogamic; but there is not sufficient ground on which to base the opinion, for the great monogamic countries, if such an expression may be used, have been under the tutelage of the Church, to whose interest it has been to fix rules of conduct for the purpose of keeping its hold upon the social body. Besides, this opinion has not taken into account the free woman. No one can say whether the woman of the future will be monogamic, polyandric, or polygamous. What we do know to a certainty is that man is polygamic with us, notwithstanding that the Church has bred in him the hypocritical pretence of monogamy.

If only we might have the freedom to study these matters, we would be able to come to an intelligent conclusion; and in the end we should have that form of family which would be best for the offspring and, therefore, the best for the future parents. But no, the question of offspring is taboo, unless it be the offspring of the cow or the horse or the pig. The science of life is the

one of all others that we should study most carefully, and it is the one of all others that we are forbidden to know about.

AMERICA

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

I thank thee, Lord, that I am not
As other nations are;
No tyrannies my records blot
Of Emperor or Tsar;
For speech to everyone is free
Who doesn't disagree with me!

I grant to Russia's cowering slave
The boon of liberty;
This is the country of the brave,
The nation of the free;
I need a hundred armed police
To make one woman keep the peace!

I hold that Truth her rule attains
By clash of mind on mind,
That in the end discussion gains
By views of every kind;
I grant full liberty of thought
If you will think the things you ought!

For law and justice I demand,
My views on this are clear;
With decent order in my land
Let no one interfere;
But smashing peaceful gatherings—
Oh, well, you mustn't count such things!

THE LAW

By ROLAND D. SAWYER.

I WENT the other night to "The Merchant of Venice," and, however much Shakespeare may have maligned the Jewish race, yet in Shylock, either intentionally or unintentionally, he has well shown up the buttress of hypocritical avariciousness, viz., *the law.*

In the fourth act, where Shylock demands his pound of flesh, and the pleas of charity, humanity, justice, religion are all made, he sets them aside by pleading *the dignity of the law.* How true a picture; love, humanity, and justice are always set aside by the *law.* The sole purpose of the *law* is to defend the Shylocks from the people—to elevate property over humanity.

The kindly instincts of the human heart are ever stifled by that great cruel institution of the law.

The greatest defense of slavery ever made was by Rev. Dr. William Smith, President of Randolf-Macon College, in 1852. And his position was that "the principle of slavery is the principle of government—the submission of one will to another; the same argument that refutes slavery denies the right of government altogether." Dr. Smith was quite right, but it takes a long time for most of us to see his logic.

How true was the ring in that recent noble letter of Tolstoi when he said, "What we must fight against is the terrible and superannuated institution, the machinery of government, which is the principal source of all human distress." His words need to go down along with Burke's immortal expression, "It's not the abuse of government, it is the thing itself that is wrong."

To quote Shelley:

"The man
Of virtuous soul commands not, nor obeys.
Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and, of the human frame,
A mechanized automaton."

THE LOGIC OF REVOLUTIONS*

By BART KENNEDY.

I.

REVOLUTIONS are vast upheavals. They are the periodic purifyings of civilizations. They arise and cleanse them out as did the mighty Hercules the Augean stables of old.

Naught can stay them. Resistless they sweep. Great blood-oceans whose tides engulf all.

Revolution.

Through it sounds the terrible cry of the slave as he rises to smite the mighty that was. Through it sounds the exulting shout of humans who have lain beneath the heel till with a vast effort they arose. Through it sounds the triumphing yell of the new mighty as it crushes the old mighty Revolution. An expression splendid and terrible of choked desires and wants. A realizing of strange portents and omens. A chaos of dust and blood and ideas. A turning of the wheel. A rising of the yeast. A storm fearful, vague, and withering.

Revolution.

Men arise with vast, sympathetic intellects, who say that it should not be—that it should be averted. As well say that a cyclone should not be—that the ocean should not engulf a ship in its fury—that an apple should not rot—that a world should not wear away. These are the philosophers who know fear. They fear the fine move and hurtle of Destruction. They would stay the whirling of the world.

The mightiest intellect that has ever analyzed cannot nullify the law that compels a stone to fall when it is cast into the air. A fire would destroy the greatest works of man. A sword would slay a Buddha.

Philosophy avails not against the unknown laws that govern matter. It is at best but man's deduction from what he sees and comprehends—and he neither sees nor comprehends all. Therefore does his logic perish on absolute occasions. The philosopher withers before the flaming fire of events. One revolution will override the calculations of centuries.

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* From "Slavery: Pictures from the Depths."

Revolution is the prelude to change. A power glorious and terrible. The linking between the broken, illimitable harmony of Being. The moulding tool of the First Cause. It has led man upward from the protoplasm. It will lead him upward till he becomes a god. Since the first two atoms met in space and formed the beginning of the world, progression thereon has moved along the line of Revolution.

It is based upon the logic of climax. Throughout nature all that rules is climax. Sudden transformation. Man springs from his mother's womb—the flower, with a burst of bud, opens its beauty to the light—the crater instantly belches forth—floods overwhelm cities—civilizations die abruptly.

Even in the heavens occurred revolutions.

Lucifer defied God.

II.

Again it is coming. It is approaching. The dust from the wheels of its frightful car is to be seen in the distance. The horizon is beginning to be illumined with the reflection of its awful, eating fire.

It is coming.

And who knows? On one side is the ignorance of fatness, and gorging, and lust, and oppression. On the other side is the ignorance of leanness, of starvation, of dirt, of slavery, of the endeavoring to ape the oppressors.

But fire. Does this eating thing of blood purify? Does this thing with mighty, roaring voice chasten? Fire! Do you hold within your terrible self a jewel inestimable?

We shall see. It may be well, it may be ill for us all. We may be plunged into a deeper blackness, or we may emerge into glorious light.

But come.

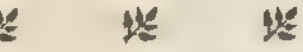
All hail, Revolution! All hail to thee. Change! Thou transmuter! Thou fine thing of magic! Power that creates the glistening gem, that opens paths, that makes worlds!

Let us pledge to thee in this mighty coming fire. Let us all pledge to thee—worker, slave, oppressor, all. We are all men. Red is the blood of us all. We are humans—vital things that possess the wondrous power of genius.

Remember that it is men who conquered even fire.

We have conquered the ocean, the world, the air, and the things therein. Aye, men have strange, grand powers.

So let us be bold and resolute. Let us fear not. Nay, let us exult and face with bold brows this frightful coming change.



REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN FRANCE

By R. DE MARMANDE, in *Le Courrier Européen.*

AGAINST private property, against the State, against conservative institutions—the law, the army, the government—the elements of dissociation declare themselves and multiply. Some of these are unconscious of their own import; their manifestations are all the more characteristic. Shall we instance the officers, newly-born into syndicalism, and their *Letter to M. Clemenceau?* Is it necessary to recall the Catholic rebellion against the Separation, or that of the employers against the Sunday Rest law?

But there is a more vigorous example more specially illustrative and possessing a more intense interest,—the example furnished by the insurgent South rallied around the economic question (I will not say demands), outside of vain theories and political doctrines. For a while, legal and parliamentary action disgusted the wretchedness and poverty of a population. Not without occasional contradictions. For a while, wageworkers and proprietors, royalists and Socialists, united for direct action. To inflamed meetings, to verbal appeals to revolt, to cries of "Death to them," succeeded acts. First the municipal strike, the impost strike; then, immediately following police provocations and governmental repression, burst forth the attacks upon property and persons. Railroad bridges went up in the air; incendiary fires were lighted; officials were injured and threatened; some of them were seized and retained as hostages. Some of the police were executed,—thrown into the water, stoned, and shot. At Perpignan, Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Montpellier, soldiers, companies, regiments, struck up "The International," and put "*the cross in the air.*"

A fearsome anguish began to seize a legislative assem-

bly which might have sat at Versailles; the Clemenceau-Briand-Picquart ministry was inspired with the methods of Thiers and Galiffet. "A wind from Fronde arose this morn," hummed the people in the time of the anti-Mazarin campaign, which announced the epoch of *La Lanterne.* To-day they are hardly singing, but they are listening to the breaths of freedom which are rising everywhere to hurl down, soon perhaps, the old social ruins.

Even if the agitation in the South shall quiet down at the prayers and sobs of M. Marcelin Albert, M. Clemenceau's delegate, it will yet remain a lesson of singular interest, and one of the signs which indicate the state of the social atmosphere and contribute to heat it. It may be, at the same time, a result and a cause.

"There is nothing to be hoped from a slow transition," wrote Clemenceau formerly, "and besides the people are tired of suffering."*

Having in view a complete economic and moral reorganization of society, without a slow transition, the proletariat, tired of suffering, are undertaking to co-ordinate their efforts.

There exist in France, also, nuclei of revolutionary forces which the ruling class denounces with some confusion. Upon examination, these energies define themselves; though to make a perfect analysis of them ,and range them as per catalogue, remains a delicate task.

* * *

Parliamentary Socialism, patiently awaiting the "Great Eve" or the "Great Day," of the conquest of official power by the ballot, could, in the past, pose as revolutionary; such was then the prestige of words. The mirage is dissipated. To verbal revolutionism, the unification of the Party gave the ass's kick. Whatever be one's personal judgment as to the attitude of the United Socialist Party in parliament, in the press, in public meetings or during the progress of strikes, every disinterested mind must agree that it is legalitarian. The United Socialist Party respects the law, recommends obedience to the law, disapproves of attacks on person and property, and helps to maintain social peace in the name of the class war. It is electoral; it offers men of the opposition for govern-

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* *Le Travail,* January 26, 1862.

mental offices. It is a nursery of defenders of capitalist order, such as Messrs. Augagneur, Briand, and Viviani. Cast a glance at the work of the Socialists in the South; it is all pacification, appeasing, impregnated with humanitarian tenderness, but devoid of the spirit of revolt.

Moreover, at the same moment that Guesde and Jaurès combat the bourgeois régime, they condemn—the one with the haste of a secretary, the other under the veil of pitying superiority—the "puerile thoughts," the "childish methods" of revolutionary syndicalism. The strategic movements of the party on the political field have no relations whatever with the revolutionary struggle properly so-called. However, there exist, in the left of the Party, a small number of more audacious intellectuals, Messrs. Legardelle, Lafont, Morizoy, Dormoy, etc. These try to conciliate direct, that is syndical, action, with legal, or electoral, action. They oscillate, according to the times, between *extra-* and *intra*-parliamentarism. They refuse to be anti-parliamentarians, but do not disdain to put parliamentarism on trial. They favor the General Strike, and do not altogether discountenance anti-militarism. In these audacities, there is some embarrassment; some contradiction in their theories. The *Avant-Garde,* which they had founded, and in which they scratched the Reformers with the Guesdists, died,—perhaps of these psychological combinations. The *Socialist Movement* has remained their official organ, open to the expression of the opinions of the militants and the syndicalists.

At the extreme left of the party, finally, in certain federations (those of the Yonne and the Seine, particularly), among some of the "Socialist Youth" leagues of Paris and the provinces, and even in the heart of the "Permanent Administrative Commission," there are found certain Socialists who do not conform to the electoral decisions of the elected, without protest. These are the unbelievers of the party, faithful, however, to the rites which are still the souvenirs of childhood,—unbelievers, who continue to belong to the clubs, to appear at the congresses to disturb the feast, but who expend their energies elsewhere. Some of these loudly declare themselves anti-parliamentarian. They have, above all, contributed to the anti-militarist propaganda. Here, indeed, are real revolutionary activities, not without immediate results.

A long time before the Dreyfus affair, the Anarchists had denounced and unmasked militarism and patriotism. In 1887, a "League of Anti-patriots" was founded. The *Révolté,* the *Réveil Normand,* were from then on prosecuted under one pretext and another, really for having aided the "League of Anti-patriots." In 1894 Jean Grave was sentenced to two years in prison for his book, "Moribund Society and Anarchy," which contained five anti-militarist chapters. In the course of the same year, an internationalist, M. Maurice Charnay, was sentenced to six months in prison for having written the "Soldiers' Catechism," containing extracts provocative of disobedience in time of strikes. With the Dreyfus affair, anti-militarism took concrete form; from then on, the active, practical campaign became open. Urbain Gohier was one of its most notable leaders. In 1900, under the inspiration of Gustave Hervé, there appeared at Sens, *Le Travailleur Socialiste de l'Yonne,* whence proceeded, in 1901, *Le Pioupiou de l'Yonne,* prosecuted and acquitted several times in the Assizes, the defender being M. Aristide Briand, who appeared before the court not only as lawyer, but as friend, almost collaborator. In 1902 M. George Yvetôt wrote the "Soldiers' Manual," collective responsibility for which was accepted by the Federation. The "Soldiers' Manual" was distributed in thousands. George Yvetôt was prosecuted and acquitted several times over before Parisian and provincial juries.

In 1905, the Socialist Federation of the Seine published, in the fifth number of the *Conscript,* a plainly revolutionary suggestion. On the 26th of April, 1905, Gustave Hervé delivered an address at a meeting in the Tivoli-Vauxhall, which summed up what is known as Hervéism, a vigorous whip-lashing which stimulated the anti-patriotic propaganda both within and beyond the borders of France.

Thus was formed a first concentration of revolutionary energies on anti-militarist ground. The attack bore upon three points: the ignominies of the barracks, of the military trade, of the army; the rôle of the workingman who has become a soldier during strikes; the fatherland, and the attitude of the workers in case of war.

In 1904, at Amsterdam, Domela Nieuwenhius had laid the foundation of an international anti-militarist associa-

tion (A. I. A.) which had numerous ramifications in France. While the *Mouvement Socialiste* was publishing the answers of workingmen to its Open Inquiry into the Idea of the Fatherland, the A. I. A., at the time of the affair with Morocco, covered Paris and the provinces with the *Red Placard,* which was prosecuted before a jury of the Seine. The pitiless sentences which the latter pronounced are well remembered. Prosecutions were begun all over France for crimes of opinion and anti-militarist speeches. In 1906, the *Red Placard* reappeared, covered with thousands of signatures.

Against the signers, against the *Voix du Peuple,* against the *Conscript,* processes were begun which could not be brought to a finish. At the Congress at Amiens, the General Federation of Labor voted the motion: "Yvetôt, anti-patriotic straight-out." In 1907, a new placard caused its authors to be arrested on suspicion; later they were acquitted. Pamphlets, journals, reviews, books, lectures, meetings, trials, every method of propaganda has been tried during the last three years, by the revolutionary anti-militarists.

The results are beginning to appear. In spite of official protestations, which are interested, it is evident to every critical and impartial observer, that the revolutionary spirit, in the shape of insubordination, disobedience, is infiltrating the barracks. The song of "The International" is often hummed, sometimes triumphantly intoned. In economic conflicts, the soldier hesitates to obey, the officer to command. The reserves have gotten the habit of raising their voices, which has the effect of making the reënlisted subalterns lower theirs. The South has just been, and still is, witness to scenes of decided indiscipline, of which I have spoken above. Who would dare to deny the influence of the anti-militarist campaign?

Without doubt, the method of district recruiting favored the insubordination of the South. But M. Briand has said, with such competence and eloquence, that we are pleased to reproduce it here:

"With but rare exceptions, it is never in their own province, in the midst of their own people, that our youth fulfill their period of military service. And it is thanks to this precaution that capitalist society was able to experi-

ment, at Fourmies, with the penetrative force of the Lebel bullets, on workingmen's flesh!

"In the time of a General Strike this abominable combination would be played out. There would be in the army numbers of sons, brothers, nephews, relatives of every degree, of the strikers. When a soldier performing service in another region than his own, but having left in his own district a family of workers, should be commanded to fire upon the strikers, the little *pioupiou** would most likely make this reflection: 'They tell me, me, to fire on these workers, whom they point out to me as strangers; but they are telling the soldiers of the regiments serving in my district, perhaps at this same moment, to shoot my father, my brother, some one of my kith and kin——'

"And then, if the order to fire was persisted in, if the officer, tenacious, wanted whether or no to constrain the will of the soldier at the time when it was possessed by preoccupations of this nature, ah! undoubtedly, the shots would fly,—but not in the direction indicated."

M. Briand is in a position to state better than any one else how grave are the present symptoms of military decay. Anti-militarism continues to live and assert itself; the form of the propaganda has varied.

The program of the A. I. A., so little known to M. the Prosecutor, Trouard-Riolle, could no longer suit the activities of its different members. At present, the sections are reclaiming their autonomy, little by little. But they retain the common program, and employ their efforts in paths which converge towards the same end. Around the *Guerre Sociale,* in which Gustave Hervé writes, are gathered the anti-militarist affinities outside of the old schools and remote systems.

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In the revolutionary plan, the Anarchists, or libertarians, occupy a place apart. They are for truth everywhere. In sympathy with deeds, ready for actual combat, Anarchy is essentially revolutionary. The spirit of revolt has guided the Anarchist movement since Bakunin. At the present time, all revolutionary propaganda is im-

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* Literally "worm-crusher," a contemptuous name given to an infantryman.—Tr.

pregnated with Anarchism. Syndicalism* has taken up its methods,—direct action, anti-parliamentarism, sabotage,† boycotting, anti-militarism.

It was the Anarchists who, at Chicago, in 1886, launched the idea of the General Strike. It was an Anarchist, Tortelier, who naturalized the idea in France, in 1888. The Anarchist comrades, without losing interest in their own groups, participate more and more in the manifestations of syndicalism. They have not, in France, founded homogeneous associations, federated or otherwise, as is the case in England, in Germany, etc. An Anarchist Congress is to be held in Amsterdam next August. It is possible that some sort of central federation may be the outcome even of the very preparation for this Congress, as the result of a desire for more complete and definite understanding.‡ But up till now, the centers and hearthstones of the Anarchist movement have been the journals and reviews, such as the *Temps Nouveaux* and the *Libertaire,* at Paris, *Germinal,* at Amiens, *Ordre,* at Limoges, *Emancipation,* at Lyons, the *Cravache,* at Reims, the *Revolte,* at Algeria, the *Cri Populaire,* at Nancy, etc.

It is noteworthy that at the time when the Socialist chiefs, such as M. Bracke, are treating the Anarchists as mortal enemies, the latter frequently sympathize with the troops, before all others the young recruits of the party. It seems, indeed, that the day is approaching when misunderstandings being explained, mutual wrongs admitted and effaced, Socialist—and Anarchist—anti-parliamentarians will come to an understanding for the organization of revolt. The ground of this understanding has already been found. All these revolutionary forces are already feeding and vivifying the General Federation of Labor. Without them, the latter would run the risk of becoming enervated or losing sight of its purpose. Syndicalism ab-

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* That is, revolutionary trade unionism.

† The putting out of commission of property involved in a strike, so that scabs cannot make use of it.

‡ We are glad to state that Comrade Marmande's prediction as to the possible effects of the Amsterdam Congress is now being fully verified by the stimulus given to the Anarchist movement towards federation.—Ed.

sorbs energies but to develop them, multiply them, keeping in view action whose intent is nothing less than the suppression of "Wagery," this "prolonged slavery," as Chateaubriand called it.

Syndicalism unites the economic interests of a class in face of another class, and against it. It is thus a powerful agent of the General Strike, of Revolution. Through syndicalism, the consciousness of the workers, heretofore scattered, is little by little built up. Through syndicalism, the various revolutionary forces meet, recognize each other, and unite. All that is wanted is some incident, some circumstance, to make them act. The revolt in the South might have been the spark; some revolutionists regret that the Federation of Labor appears to think otherwise. But who can predict what to-morrow will bring forth?

ANARCHISM

By DR. PAUL ELTZBACHER.

Review.

IN spite of misrepresentation and abuse, the Anarchist philosophy slowly but surely attracts and claims the attention of serious, thinking men. It becomes less and less possible to ignore it; a sure sign of progress. While the bulk of mankind know nothing of it, and the majority of those who do continue to identify it with chaos and disorder, happily their numbers steadily decrease. To say that the publication of one book makes a definite step in the progress of a philosophy, seems at first thought extravagant; yet, closer examination will go far to justify such a statement. If we were not aware of the amount of vituperation and abuse that has been heaped upon Anarchists and their philosophy, we might reasonably assume that the mere fact that a thinker of Dr. Eltzbacher's standing considered it worth while to devote himself with such a whole heart towards the understanding of the theory in question, was quite sufficient justification for the claim that Anarchism had reached that stage where, like Banquo's ghost, it would not down. Dr. Eltzbacher's book represents the high-water mark of intelligent and conscientious exposition of Anarchism by a non-Anarchist. The author says that his reasons for

wanting to know what Anarchism is are "both personal and external," and further that "he who would produce a scientific work on Anarchism must be equally at home in jurisprudence, in economics, and in philosophy." A statement we might recommend to the space-writers in our daily newspapers, who are at this moment inventing conspiracies with the same avidity that the public accepts them. If the statement of our author is correct—and there is no doubt of it—the subject is a worthy one, and the necessary equipment formidable. If the results attained in the book fail to satisfy everyone, it means no more than that the Doctor is human, and the subject a mighty one. Certain it is that this is by far the most satisfying attempt that has yet been made in this direction.

Analyzing the principles and postulating his method of examination in a little over thirty pages, the author—with a condensation little short of remarkable—gives, almost in their own words, an exposition of the theories of seven representative Anarchists: Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker, and Tolstoi are treated in the order named, and with a fairness and intelligent understanding that are refreshing when one thinks of Zenker and others who have essayed a similar task. The most difficult part in a work of this kind is to imbibe the spirit of those you seek to understand and, at the same time, not be carried away with it. The names of the seven men selected have long been familiar to the scientific world; ones not easily ignored. In spite of this, however, it says much for Dr. Eltzbacher's mental equipment that he approached his task in an inquiring and not a hostile attitude. The weakest part of the book, to Anarchists, will naturally be the conclusion; but as the work was not written for Anarchists, the conclusion may appear sounder to those who do not agree with us.

It would be a mistake to suppose that, because seven of the most prominent writers on Anarchism have been selected, there are seven schools of Anarchism. They may be roughly divided into three schools; for, while differing in some essentials, there is much that Stirner, Proudhon, and Tucker have in common with Bakunin and Kropotkin, while all embody some of the ideas of Godwin.

It is but natural that the translator, as friend and comrade of Mr. Tucker, should obtrude himself in frequent foot notes and explanatory remarks concerning the author's interpretation of Tucker. Most probable, if an adherent of the Kropotkin or Tolstoi schools had translated the book, he would have had equal opportunity and would have availed himself of it as readily as Mr. Byington.

If we are not much mistaken, the student who reads the book will take to heart the following passage, as we have:

"As to their basis, the seven teachings here presented have nothing in common (this we do not admit, for it seems to us unquestionable that they have many things in common).

"In part they recognize as the supreme law of human procedure merely a natural law, which, as such, does not tell us what ought to take place, but what really will take place; these teachings may be called *genetic.* The other part of them regard as the supreme law of human procedure a norm, which, as such, tells us what ought to take place, even if it never really will take place; these teachings may be characterized as *critical.* Genetic are the teachings of Bakunin and Kropotkin: the supreme law of human procedure is for Bakunin the evolutionary law of mankind's progress from a less happy existence to an existence as happy as possible, and for Kropotkin that of mankind's progress from a less happy existence to an existence as happy as possible. Critical are the teachings of Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Tucker, and Tolstoi."

In other words—it seems to us—the Anarchism of the latter is deductive, on the constructive side, while that of the former is inductive. One reasons from facts to ideas, the other from ideas to facts. Kropotkin and Bakunin base their philosophy, not upon an idealistic conception of justice, or upon love, but upon the evolutionary law of existence, the basis of which is mutual aid. Proudhon's idea of an exact justice and Tolstoi's idea of love are noble and elevating, but they are arbitrary creations, for all that. Mankind has never been just in the Proudhonian sense, or loving in the Tolstoian. Philosophically they may be correct or advisable, but

society exists to-day without being either just or loving, and it may continue so. On the other hand, it does not exist without mutual aid permeating the whole social fabric.

Dr. Eltzbacher is not concerned as to which is the most rational of the seven teachings he sets forth; on the contrary, he thinks them all unsound. In spite of this, he renders each, and the philosophy in general, a distinct service in his differentiation of them. He also shows quite clearly that it is possible to understand an unpopular theory without agreeing with it or being unjust to it. This is far more important than is at first apparent, as most readers of this magazine know. To *explain* the act of a Czolgosz or a Bresci is to be accused of endorsing it, even by "philosophical Anarchists."

The publication of Dr. Eltzbacher's book cannot but result in much good to Anarchism. It is a serious contribution to a much discussed and much abused subject, and those who take the trouble to read it will read further. It is not a "best seller" in any sense of the word, but a truly scientific work; a book for thinking men and women. Not all who read it will understand it; or those understanding, do justice to it. A writer in the *Evening Sun* recently reviewed (?) the book, and, judged from his understanding, it appeared to be a Socialist pamphlet. It is a painstaking, intelligent, and conscientious work by a scientific man and should be read by everyone interested in Anarchism. Mr. Byington has the reputation of being one of the best linguists in America, and, as he is an Anarchist himself, the translation is, no doubt, adequate and a trifle more.

H. KELLY.

OUT OF THE DEPTHS

By DAVID DIAMONDSTEIN.

BROKEN-SPIRITED and devoid of life's sacred fire, we sat in a room which the kindness of modern philanthropy provides for those whose stomachs are empty and whose spirits are overfed.

Around us, on every side, were books; books innumerable. Small books, large books, thin books, thick books, old books, new books, books, books, and books.

Silence was supreme, for such was the order posted in big black letters in front of the custodian's desk; but all were not silent, although none of us talked. That fellow across my table, with sunken eyes and face so thin and lifeless that it gave one the impression of a withered leaf, would now and then send forth such a terrible cough that it seemed as though the very books in their shelves were shaking.

And we read books; yes, all of us read books. What else could we do? Some had a book open in front of them, and supporting their weary brain-chests by their long and bony forearms, they sought to regain the sleep they had lost because of "financial embarrassment." But ah, their sleep was of short duration; for scarcely had they closed their swollen eyes when up came his majesty, and with the heartlessness of an alarm clock tapped their shoulders, bringing them back to consciousness; and consciousness meant the realization that a good meal might well be consumed at this critical period.

Outside the day was cold and dreary. Since early morning a November rain had been drizzling, and a steel-gray mist, gloomy and disheartening, shrouded the streets of the Ghetto. One felt like crouching and huddling somewhere in an obscure corner to fall into a sweet slumber and never to waken.

Cheerless and depressed I sought to bury myself in the columns of a metropolitan daily; but my eyes merely stared at the small gray type, scanning a headline here and there, which read in that cold, every-day tone, so commonplace and uninteresting: "Mrs. Bloodsucker Sues for Divorce," "Perry Bigthief Buys New Yacht," "Woman Shoots Husband, Then Self," etc., etc.

God! How dull I felt perusing those news items. Oh, for a real piece of news. Oh, for a real divorce case, such as, for instance, the separation of Humanity from its life-long husband, Ignorance; or the death of the Bigthiefs and the destruction of their stolen palaces and yachts. These and other thoughts and yearnings entered my mind, gnawed at my heart, and caused me to heave a sigh now and then.

Slowly my thoughts commenced to steal away, my eyelids grew heavy and drooping, and off I went into slumberland. I dozed and I dreamt such a wonderful and weird dream.

I found myself in the midst of a great arena. Around me were steps reaching out in a circle, towering endlessly heavenward. And I stood on one of them, a little above the lowest, and I gazed half way between the bottom, which looked immensely deep and dark, and the top, which seemed to grow ever lighter and more beautiful.

Below me were figures in black, in red, and in gray, who appeared to be struggling upwards; their eyes bulging out of their sockets seemed to plead with me to reach out my hand to help them rise a step higher.

I eagerly stretched out both hands, but it seemed as though they could not even reach them, although I made strenuous efforts to grasp theirs. In vain did I call on them, encouragingly, to try to climb; apparently their bodies were too heavy for their hands, no matter how much they strove to rise, they would always fall back.

I had almost given up my hopes for them, when suddenly a voice sounded in my ear; it spoke in soft and clear tones: "Do not despair; rather seek to understand how those above you have risen."

Ah, how sweet was the sound of that voice. I longed it might speak on forever, but ere I succeeded in grasping its full meaning, I was awakened by the custodian, who must have imagined me under the influence of liquor; for when I awoke, I was muttering to myself, "Oh, speak on, speak on, gentle voice!" But he commanded me, "Leave the room instantly; this is no lodging house!"

And sadly I staggered out into the dampness and the heartlessness of the November winds.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GERMANY.

We have reported in our last issue the conviction and sentence of eighteen months imposed by the Berlin courts upon our Comrade R. Oestreich, editor of *Der freie Arbeiter*. Since then Comrade Oestreich has again been condemned, this time by the highest tribunal of Germany, the Reichsgericht at Leipzig, on the charge of treason, and sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

The trial has aroused great interest, resulting in much propaganda for our ideas in Germany. The attitude of Comrade Oestreich before the judges was marked with great dignity; he defended his position by an outspoken and intellectual critique of capitalistic "order."

* * *

The doors of his prison have recently opened to Comrade Carl Sauter, after he had been immured for thirteen months for his active anti-militarist propaganda.

* * *

Since the Mannheim Congress, the Anarchists of Germany have reorganized themselves into a federation, embracing almost the whole of Germany. The new organization is carrying on a very energetic propaganda.

All correspondence is to be addressed to R. Lange, Berlin, N. O. Palisadenstr. 56.

SWITZERLAND.

The proud tradition of the country as a haven of refuge for all oppressed has been foully sacrificed to the Tsar's government.

The Republic has made a treaty with the Russian hangman, according to which persons guilty of illegal use of explosives should be extradited to the country where the "illegal act" was committed.

Several weeks ago the Social Revolutionist Wassiliew was arrested in Switzerland at the instigation of the Russian government, which is demanding the extradition of the man.

Comrades Titaw, Morizil, Goldberg, and Tibaldi have been expelled the country by order of the Federal authorities. The defendants had previously been confined for

several weeks in the Geneva prison, cruelly treated, and deprived of their right to communicate with counsel.

The violation on the part of the government of the country's old traditions of asylum has stirred up all classes of people whose spirit is still alive to libertarian ideals. General protest is being voiced against the action of the authorities, and a declaration has been issued to the people, signed by some of the most prominent literary men of the country.

FRANCE.

The acquittal of the twelve officials of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* is equivalent to a defeat of the Clemenceau ministry in its fight against the revolutionary proletariat.

Following the strike of Narbonne, during which a number of workmen were shot by the military, the *Confédération* published a proclamation in which the government was characterized as a band of murderers. Although the proclamation was signed by the seventy-seven affiliated labor bodies, the government instituted prosecutions against but twelve of the signers, the State's attorney declaring that he chose only the leaders of the movement. Among the twelve arrested were the well-known comrades Griffulhes, Pouget, Merrheim, Luquet, Janvion, and Monatte. The other signers protested their solidarity with the defendants and demanded to be given a trial. The prosecuting attorney enlarged upon the usual patriotic phrases and charged the defendants with insulting the army and sowing among the soldiers the spirit of insubordination. The jury, however, did not allow themselves to be influenced by the prosecutor's foaming. All the defendants were acquitted.

* * *

J. B. Beluze, the favorite pupil of Etienne Cabet, the famous author of "A Journey to Icaria," recently died at Meudon, near Paris.

Beluze played a prominent rôle in the history of the Icarian movement. He was the editor of the Icarian publication *Populaire*, and since 1848 was a principal factor in the distribution of the finances which were used to colonize the Icarian community on the Mississippi.

After the colony disbanded Beluze devoted his time

to gathering documents relating to the Icarian movement, with special reference to Cabet's writings on Communism.

The historian of the Icarians, J. Prudhomeaux, will publish the documents in the near future.

BELGIUM.

Professor F. Ferrer, the founder of the Modern School of Barcelona, whose recent prosecution for complicity with Morales has called forth a storm of protest from the intellectuals of all Europe, is now organizing an International League for the rational education of children.

The organ of the League will be published at Brussels and will bear the name *L'Ecole Rénovée.* We wish to call the attention of all those opposed to official pedagogy to the undertaking of Comrade Ferrer. Communications are to be addressed to *L'Ecole Rénovée,* 76, rue de l'Orme, Brussels, Belgium.

SWEDEN.

The anti-militarists are doing systematic and much-needed work. Recently 25,000 leaflets have been distributed at night in Stockholm and the whole city practically plastered with the proclamation. Neither churches, the city hall, the barracks, nor even the royal palaces were neglected.

In Gothenborg eight comrades informed by letter the military commander of the district that they decline to serve as cannon food. Evidently the anti-militarist spirit of Sweden does not lag behind that of other countries. The movement is making favorable progress.

HUNGARY.

Our contemporary, *Társadalmi forradalom* ("The Social Revolution") is waging a hard battle against the arbitrariness of the authorities. Almost every issue is being confiscated by the government. Comrade Horwáth, the editor, has recently been condemned to three months on the charge of alleged inciting to riot. The article in question, on which the indictment is based, was written by Count Edwin Bathyany, the Hungarian apostle of Tolstoi's gospel.

BOHEMIA.

A champion of progress has been lost in the death of Svatopluk Cech, the Bohemian poet whose *Pisne otroka* ("Songs of the Slaves") have carried his fame far beyond the confines of his native country.

Cech was the son of a revolutionary father, whose active participation in the uprising of '48 resulted in severe persecution and much suffering. A rebel by inheritance, Cech won for himself first rank among the literary men of his country by his *Adamite* and *Zizka*, two forcible epics, dealing with the heroic epoch of the Hussites and the counter reformation which forcibly "converted" Bohemia to Catholicism.

Cech was one of that small minority which suffers with, and understands, the proletarian. In *Kovár z Lesetice* ("The Blacksmith of Lesetice") he pictured the battle of the lower middle class against capitalism, while in *Nové pisnè* ("New Songs") he glorified Socialism. But it was only after the publication of the "Songs of the Slaves" that he became the most celebrated poet of the Bohemian proletariat.

Cech will live in the memory of his people as one of its greatest classics.

TURKEY.

The Russian Revolution has exerted a tremendous influence upon the Mohammedan world. The political waves agitating Persia, have now spread to Turkey. The party of Young Turks recently passed resolutions, demanding the dethronement of the Sultan and the proclamation of a constitution.

Turkish refugees in western Europe are planning to organize energetic opposition to the government; they have strong support in all parts of the empire, but particularly in European Turkey.

The ideas of Socialism are also beginning to make an opening for themselves in Turkey. In Wana the first body of Socialists was formed under the name of the Turkish Revolutionary Federation. The latter is founded on the basis of the class struggle. Refusal to pay taxes is one of the methods of propaganda.—Recently the silk weavers at Diarbekir declared a strike—a significant sign of Turkey's awakening.

RUSSIA.

The Petersburg police were informed by the police in Moscow that the young woman who threw a bomb at Governor General Hershelman was the Princess Elisabeth Meshtshersky, who had mysteriously disappeared from her house. The woman who was executed and who refused to the last to give her name answered in every detail to the description given of the missing Princess. A report that the latter intended to kill herself on account of money troubles is known to be false. The Princess Meshtshersky had a considerable fortune, of which she disposed by will before her disappearance, on the day of which she had 300 roubles in hand.

The autocracy never knows from which side the lightning will strike.

JAPAN.

Man-eating capitalism celebrates here many triumphs. The condition of the masses is daily growing more unendurable; the total débacle of the present system would not be very interesting. A Tokio correspondent writes:

"Banks are failing daily, and small dealers are gradually forced into the ranks of labor. The worst of it all is, however, that the cost of living is steadily growing, with no corresponding increase in the wages of the proletariat. The high tariff enables the capitalists to keep prices for the necessaries of life at a forbidding level. During the last twenty years the cost of living has grown 20 per cent., while wages have remained stationary, owing to the lack of organization among workingmen. During the last year the price of rice—the staple food of the country—doubled and now it is dearer than it had ever been before in the history of the country.

"The workmen strive to better their miserable condition by the method of striking. Hardly an industry of the country passed through the last twelve months without a strike. The great misery suffered by the masses is due directly to the incredibly high cost of living, out of all proportion to the wages paid for labor. Great dissatisfaction permeates all classes of our nation, and the workingmen especially are growing rebellious. The government is mercilessly suppressing all demands of the people; but the discontent is increasing, and the voice of labor will soon make itself heard."

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